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ABSTRACT

This paper traces the development in Britain of Angloromani, and argues that this language developed within the first half- century after the arrival of the Gypsies in Britain as a specifically reduced contact language between English and Gypsy beggars and outlaws. Evidence indicates that Angloromani was developed as a "compromise" language and one which would prevent outsiders from becoming familiar with the Gypsies' language. Evidence of the status of Anglorcmani as a pidgin is discussed. A description of Angloromani contains information on the phonclogy, grammatical features, and lexicon of Angloromani, ard on the relationship between this language and English and Romanes. (AM)

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The Social and Linguistic Development of Angloromani

by

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Komitia Lumiaki Romani

Paris

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THE SOCIAL AND LINGUISTIC DEVELOPMENT OF ANGLOROMANI[1]

The ethnic speech of the Gypsies in Britain, and of their descendants who have been sent, or who have voluntarily emigrated to other parts of the English-speaking world[2], presents a singular problem in terms of its linguistic classification. This speech, which may be called *Angloromani*[3], has been discussed by various scholars during the past century or so, although the earliest and most significant statements about the language appeared in the mid 16th century.

The hypothesis presented here is that Angloromani developed as a specifically reduced contact language within the first half-century after the arrival of Gypsies in Britain[4], between English and Gypsy outlaws. When the Gypsies entered the British Isles around AD 1500, they found a very considerable population of native "sturdy beggars", *i.e.* healthy and often skilled, though unemployed, men who were obliged to support themselves through petty crime because of the breakdown of the guild system. There were also a great many legitimate beggars, forced onto the roads because of the dissolution of the monasteries, which traditionally took care of the poor, and because of the ending of the Hundred Years' War and the War of the Roses in the 15th century (Chamberlin). Because of the isolated situation of the British Isles, and because Gypsies arrived there during the earlier European diaspora[5] and have not had contact with any other non-British languages (including other dialects of Romanés, the original inflected, non-reduced language of the Gypsies) since, the contact variety has gradually supplanted the once more widely spoken inflected sourceform. This has happened to the extent that today, only a

tiny minority of the Gypsies in Britain are acquainted with it[6].

It may be fairly safely assumed that upon arrival in England, probably from northern France or the Netherlands-north German coast area, the Gypsies had no prior acquaintance with English[7], and that it was the inflected, non-reduced language which was spoken[8]. The first verified samples of inflected Romanés from Britain, or indeed from anywhere in the world, is dated 1547[9], and shows little interference from English; Gypsies had been in Britain for probably between fifty and a hundred years at this time (*cf.* footnote 4, *p.* 36):

"Good morrow!"	*Lach ittur ydyues!*
"How far is it to the next town?"	*Cater myla barforas?*
"You are welcome to the town"	*Maysta ves barforas*
"Will you drink some wine?"	*Mole pis lauena?*
"I will go with you"	*A vauatosa*
"Sit down and drink"	*Hyste len pee*
"Drink, drink for God's sake!"	*Pe, pe, deue lasse!*
"Maid, give me some bread and wine"	*Achae, da mai manor la veue*
"Give me some meat"	*Da mai masse!*
"Maid come here; a word with you"	*Achae, a wordey susse!*
"Give me some apples and pears"	*Da mai paba la ambrell!*
"Much good may it do you"	*Iche misto!*
"Good night!"	*Lachira tut!*[10]

The first reference to Angloromani as a newly-devised speech, distinct from the above, is found in Harman's *Caveat* (1566 or 1567):

> "As far as I can learne or understand by the examination of a *number* of them, their language — which they terme peddelars Frenche or canting — began but within these XXX yeeres or lyttle above".

The argument supported in this discussion is based upon an interpretation of Harman's statement by John Camden Hotten in his *Slang Dictionary* (1864) at *pp.* 5-12, which introduces the idea that Angloromani developed as a "compromise" language:

> "Harman, in 1566, wrote a singular, not to say droll, book...wherein the history and various descriptions of rogues and vagabonds are given, together with their canting tongue. This book, the earliest of its kind, gives the singular fact that within a dozen years after the landing of the Gipsies, companies of English vagrants were formed, places of meeting appointed, districts for plunder and begging operations marked out, and rules agreed to for their common management. In some cases, Gipsies joined the English gangs; in others, English vagrants joined the Gipsies. The fellowship was found convenient and profitable, as both parties were aliens to the laws and customs of the country, living in a great measure in the open air, apart from the lawful public, and often meeting each other on the same by-path, or in some retired valley, but seldom intermarrying, or entirely adopting each other's habits. The common people too, soon began to consider them as of one family, all rogues, and from Egypt. The secret language spoken by the Gypsies, principally Hindoo, and extremely barbarous to English ears, was found incomprehensible and very difficult to learn. The Gipsies, also, found the same difficulty with the English language. *A rude, rough, and most singular compromise was made*, and a mixture of Gipsy, Old English, newly coined words and cribbings from any foreign, and therefore secret, language, mixed and jumbled together, formed what has ever since been known as the CANTING LANGUAGE, or PEDLAR'S FRENCH; or, during the past century, ST. GILES' GREEK" [emphasis added].

In addition to the language-learning difficulties faced by each group, it is probable that, like the Chinese in the Canton Pidgin situation (Hall, 1966:8), the Gypsies were content to have the English know the restructured variety, but withheld knowledge of their own inflected language from them in order to maintain their separateness within the overall outlawed society.

A further reference from the same period as Harman turns up in a note by J. Harison in the 1578 printing of Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles*, in which he also suggests that the language was consciously created. Harison noted that the Gypsies and the British outlaws

> "...have devised a language among themselves, which they name Canting, but others pedler's French, a speeche compact thirty years since of English, and a great number of od words of their own devising, without all order or reason; and yet such is it as none but themselves are able to understand; the first deviser thereof was hanged by the neck, a just reward no doubt for his desartes...".

The next important quotation is found in Samuel Rowlande's *The Runnagate's Race* (1610), in which the writer gives an account of the meeting between the leader of the English vagabonds, Cock Lorrel, and the leader of the Gypsies, Giles Hathor, a little over a century earlier,

> "...to parle and intreete of matters that might tend to the establishing of this their new found gouernment; and first of all they think it fit to deuise a certaine kinde of Language; to the end that their cousenings, knaueries, and villanies might not be so easily perceiued and knowne in places where they come".

This statement agrees with the findings of Harman who, as already indicated, believed this distinct form of the language to have developed separately from the original inflected variety initially brought into Britain, and not to have existed earlier than about 1535. Again, Samuel Rid, writing in 1612 about the Gypsy population there at that time, noted that

> "...many of our English Loyterers joyned with them, and in time learned their crafte and cosening. The speache which they used was the right Egyptian language, with whom our English men conversing, at least learned their language".

This last statement is significant since it may be argued that so few items actually (or possibly) traceable to Romanés occur in the early vocabularies of rogues' slang — Hotten himself lists 26 in his discussion, and they are almost non-existent in Grose's standard work on the subject — that the 16th and 17th century writers may have been referring to Cant rather than to Angloromani, since the two

are sometimes confused: Ainsworth, in the preface to his *Rookwood* (1834) speaks of "...the practiced patterer of Romany, or Pedlar's French". McPeek (1969:38-89) has most recently supported this view:

> "Gypsies are credited with assimilating the jargon of their beggar rivals without adding anything of their own to it...and pedlar's French is similarly free, almost untouched by Romani. Furthermore, though the Gypsies themselves employed pedlar's French in their activities, they maintained their own language essentially free of cant elements".

It should be noted however that the secret nature of Angloromani would have kept knowledge of its lexical and grammatical characteristics, if not its actual existence, from outsiders; *cf.* Shelta (Hancock, 1974), which is of even greater age than Angloromani, but which was unknown to the outside world until 1876.

The words in English slang which have been treated in the literature (Baumann, Leland, Hotten, Matsell, McPeek, Turner, &c.) as possibly being of Angloromani origin are listed here, although the majority of them are more likely to be from a non-Romani source: *bamboozle, bandy, bazaar, berk, bite, bivvy, bloke, blowen, bosh, cadger, can, caroon, cat, cheese, chiv(e), chivvy, choor, chull, churi, cockal, cory, cosh, cove, cur, cushy, cutter/couter, dad(dy), dando, dik/dękko, dig, divvy, dook, drum, duffer, gad (about), gibberish, gorger, gybe, hook & snivey, hookey, jerry, jib(b), jockey, jomer, keister, ken, lil, loafer, lobs, lollipop, lowr(e), lunan, lush(y), mammy, maund/maung, mindge, mockers, moke, moll, moo, moosh, mo(r)t, mug, mull, mumper, muns, nark, niggle, pal, parn(e)y, peck, peels, pen, posh, punch, raclan/racklaw, rig, Romany, romy/rumy, row, run, salomon, sap, saulohomus, shaver, shero, shiv, slang, snack, stir, stur(a)bin, tanner, tiny, toff, trash, vocker, wasted* and *yack.*

No written samples of Angloromani, and until 1780 no more of the inflected variety[11], turn up until the 19th century. Borrow, in his book on the Spanish Gitanos (1841) refers briefly to Angloromani, and in his two later books, *Lavengro* (1851) and its sequel *Romany Rye* (1857) he includes some discussion and words and phrases *passim*. Hotten, mentioned above, discussed the formation of Angloromani in 1864, and nine years later, in 1873, Leland's important *English Gypsies and their Language* appeared, followed a year later by Borrow's *Romano Lavo-lil*, though it should be stressed that these last titles contain a certain amount of fanciful linguistic material.

Smart & Crofton (1875) remains the most comprehensive description of the inflected dialect as far as it was retrievable in mid-19th century England, and is an enlargement of an earlier treatment by Smart (1860). This devotes *pp.* 273-288 to texts in what is called the "New or Broken Dialect".

The first passing comparison with a pidgin was made by Leland (1876) in his book on China Coast Pidgin English. In a brief statement on page 2, he notes that the Chinese Pidgin "...corresponds exactly with the *posh an' posh* or corrupt Rommany dialect spoken by English gipsies, in which Hindi-Persian words follow the English structure". So taken with the nature of Romanés was he, that he even included a poem in the language in his *Hans Breitmann Ballads* (1889:46), a book of verse in German-English dialect. The first scholar to treat Angloromani as a special case in any depth was James Cresswell Clough, in his *On the Existence of Mixed Languages* (1876), in which he discusses, among others, Chinook Jargon, Sranan, Jamaican Creole, Afro-American English and the Lingua Franca. He devotes a number

of pages to "Gypsy or Romanny", providing yet another spelling for the word and concluding (rather rashly, since the fully-inflected language survives quite healthily with several million speakers) that

> "Romanny grammar has been almost entirely destroyed in the contact with Europeans. Thus the English Gypsy makes feminine and masculine words to agree with one another indiscriminately, the first step towards the extinction of grammatical and towards the adoption of natural gender. Though he uses his own plurals, he already forms all his cases by means of English prepositions, instead of Romanny inflexions; and in the conjugation of the verbs he as often uses the English as the correct system, saying *I del*, I give, instead of *delo*; *I del'd*, I gave, instead of *deliom*; and *if I had del'd*, If I had given, instead of *deliomis*.
>
> "Romanny is, therefore, mixed in vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar".

As a side note, mention may be made of a privately printed booklet by one Hall Desmond, entitled *The Language of the Gypsies* (*ca.* 1890). Unless this was a pseudonym for Clough, Desmond's publication must represent the most blatant form of plagiarism for, with the exception of the final paragraph, it is identical in every detail with Clough's earlier statement. Neither of these sources is listed in Black's *Bibliography*.

A significant suggestion was made in 1887 by Turner who, in a discussion of Rowlande (1610) said that he believed the Gypsies to have arrived in Britain speaking a "perfect language", *i.e.* inflected Romanés, but rather than having created a contact language after arrival, simply stimulated the British outlaws to embellish an already-existing cant with words from Romanés. Turner identifies the speakers of this cant as the *Gwestwr*[12] or vagabonds who were considered a public nuisance in England prior to 1330, and who were usually of Welsh or Irish origin[13]. He says (1887:467):

> "It is probable that after the arrival of the gypsies in England, about the year 1505, the example of their language, which was perfect in itself, stimulated English vagabonds to polish and improve their Cant so as to make it a current medium of speech; but no single individual has ever yet invented a spoken language, and cant words must have existed long before the time of Henry VIII".

Once again, in 1889, Leland took up the question of the origins of Angloromani in his preface to Barrière & Leland's *Dictionary of Slang, Jargon and Cant*. In a fairly comprehensive discussion of the origin and dispersion of the Gypsies (*pp. v-xxiii*) he mentions some of the 16th century writers, and refers to the possibility that Angloromani was consciously devised.

Some 40 years later, the noted linguist Leonard Bloomfield (1933:471-475) discussed the linguistic characteristics of American Angloromani, and while not committing himself to a typological classification of the speech, he includes in the same section references to foreigners' mixed speech, Tok Pisin, Chinook Jargon, Afrikaans and Sranan, and regarded the use of non-English words in a "normal variety of sub-standard English" as being a conscious practice. Reinecke (1937:77-78), basing his discussion on Bloomfield, included Angloromani in his monumental dissertation on marginal languages, but unlike Bloomfield felt, correctly, that "the Gypsies do not view their speech as a facetious jargon [Bloomfield's words], but as a true language". In the same year, Mencken (1937:696-697) included Angloromani as the last entry in the appendix, "Non-English dialects in American" to his *The American Language*, but adds nothing to the earlier sources.

The first linguist actually to refer to Angloromani as a creolized language was Gray (1939:38). His observations were derived wholly from secondary sources and not at first hand, and as a result he over-estimates both the extent of angli-

cization and the proportion of Romničals (Angloromani speakers) to other Romani groups in the United States:

> "...among the English Gypsies...we can trace the steady degeneration of a language with its own systems of grammar and vocabulary into a creolised dialect with Gypsy words and an extremely sub-standard English. Finally, among the great majority of English and American Romani, the language has become an English approaching more and more nearly the standard type, with an ever-diminishing number of Gypsy terms, many of those which survive serving chiefly as cant to prevent non-Gypsies from understanding what is being said".

Gray's position regarding the development of the language is clearly that later to be taken by Kenrick (below), and perhaps by McEek also, *i.e.* that the restructured contact variety represents *gradual* "degeneration", to use Gray's own word, and that this is a continuing process.

The next reference to the language, and the first to discuss its development as a pidgin specifically, was Hancock (1970), which merely interpreted Hotten's discussion, repeated above, from a creolist's point of view. This appeared in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, and was rebutted a year later by Kenrick (1971). A brief rejoinder to Kenrick by Hancock appeared in the same volume (Acton, 1971). Since that time, Hymes (1971:67) has made reference to Angloromani, allowing for the possibility that "the uninflected variety of Anglo-Romanes should be defined as pidginized. That is, [it shows] simplification in outer form, reduction in inner form, and restriction in role, together with a confluence of traditions...", and the language has been given a section of its own in Reinecke's *Bibliography of Pidgin and Creole Languages* (1975:622-631).

To summarise Kenrick's arguments, he sees Angloromani as being of com-

paratively recent development, *i.e.* as having crystallized within the past 100-150 years, and as having come about because of the gradual loss of command of the earlier inflected language, possibly because of intermarriage with non-Gypsies. He further treats it as a register of English, and compares it with Jewish English, that is, as being English with "exotic" lexemes in the syntactic slots. Kenrick's point of view is based primarily on the documented evidence of the gradual loss of the inflected language among the informants of various investigators over the years up to the present time. He quotes in particular the statement of an old man who in 1863 told Smart and Crofton that when *he* was a young man, the old people spoke *tacho pooro Romani lava*, "real old Gypsy words". Although the old man may have been referring to morphology rather than lexicon, since his own vocabulary here is entirely Romani-derived (but had he adhered to native morphology he would have said *tache purane Romane lava*), the argument does not detract from the point being made here. Kenrick also states (1971:7) that it was a popular notion during the 16th century that Gypsies weren't a discrete people, but merely a "made up" group consisting of Englishmen and Englishwomen who dyed their skin, and that accounts of their "made up" language have to be interpreted with this in mind. But while it is true that references to this do occur, probably initiated by Dekker, Gypsies *were* nevertheless real in renaissance England, dyed or not, and there is no reason to suppose that Angloromani was any the less real; *cf.* Alvarez' statement in *The Spanish Gipsie* by Midleton & Rowley (1653), where he speaks of

> "Gipsies, but no tanned ones; no red-ochre rascals umbered with soot and bacon as the English gipsies are".

In my reply to Kenrick (Hancock, 1971), I disagree with his comparing Angloromani with Jewish English typologically, on the grounds that in terms of an historical continuum, the core of direct retention for the former may be shown to be Romanés: Angloromani is Romanés with massive English morphosyntactic and phonological intrusion. Jewish English, on the other hand, is English with lexical intrusion from Yiddish, &c., and significantly, only intrusions from open-list items; Angloromani retains some non-English prepositions, pronouns and conjunctions; Jewish English does not since these have never been anything but English[14].

In summary, there are sufficient references from the 16th and early 17th centuries to a contact language used between Gypsies and non-Gypsies, for it to be possible that Angloromani became distinct from Romanés during that period. The fact that there are no texts from that time is not remarkable in view of the secret nature of the language; in fact, only one verified text in inflected Romanés itself is known to us from that date. It appears that over the centuries Angloromani became more current among Gypsies in Britain than did the inflected language. For many families today, English is the first language learned in life (hence Angloromani being referred to as an *ethnic* rather than as a *native* language here). In some of these families, as Kenrick points out, (1979, in press), the children do not achieve fluency in it until their eighth or ninth year. Thus, Angloromani has gradually become the language of the community, while inflected Romanés has been retained only by especially conservative families in songs and proverbs, &c., or by isolated groups such as the Lockes or Woods in central Wales.

There are a great many Travellers of non-Gypsy ancestry in Britain and the

United States who are able to speak Angloromani, and the same situation is found in Scandinavia. Johansson, in his description of reduced Swedish Romanés (1977:5) says of the ethnic composition of its speakers that while a Gypsy element is discernible in some cases, its rôle has certainly been exaggerated in earlier treatments ("dess roll har tidigare säkert överdrivits"). The same is true in Spain, where Caló has been acquired by Quinquí and other non-Gypsy groups. Though genetic mixing is evident to some degree, this does not appear to have been as extensive in Britain as previously supposed. The situation is paralleled by the Afro-Seminole case, (Hancock, 1978), where African fugitives in Florida transmitted their English-derived creole, Gullah, to the (mainly) Creek Indians, and in turn acquired Creek identity and culture, yet each race remaining racially distinct despite their living together for over one and a half centuries.

Angloromani cannot be regarded as a fully pidginized language in the light of *e.g.* Taylor's 15 criteria (1971:295); it retains a fair degree of morphology, albeit deriving from English and regularized — there are no strong verbs, for example — and it lacks many of the linguistic features generally associated with pidgin languages. It did, however, originate from a contact situation, and does conform to Hymes' requirements, quoted above. And in particular, it exhibits very extensive internally-generated innovative lexicon, perhaps far more extensive than that found in established pidgins and creoles; and to a lesser degree, morphological devices originating in the source language (Romanés) have been readapted, and continue to be productive in ways not paralleled in either English or Romanés. Nor may Angloromani entirely fit Todd's (1975) or Platt's (1975) definition of

a "creoloid", perhaps coming closer to the Shelta (Hancock, 1974) or Mbugu (Goodman, 1971) situations, for which adequate linguistic descriptions are still lacking.

Similar linguistic situations elsewhere

The Caló (Hispano-Romani) language in Spain and parts of South America, and in Portugal, where it is known as Calão, has already been likened structurally to Angloromani. Many works have appeared dealing with this language, mostly in the form of wordlists (*e.g.* that edited by Christof Jung, 1972). The most recent lexical study of Caló made at first hand is that of McLane (1977), while Wagner (1938) discusses lexical expansion in this dialect, and gives examples which have clear parallels in Angloromani; thus, words are created by punning, *e.g.* loriazo "March (month)", Spanish "marzo" (< Caló *loria* "sea", Spanish "mar", < Persian دَریا, + *-azo*), or calquing, *e.g.* barbalo "elegant", Spanish "airoso" (< Caló *barbal* "air", Spanish "aire", < Sanskrit *vatavat*, + *alo*), Lillac "Thomas", Spanish "Tomás" (< Caló *lillar* "take", Spanish "tomar", < Sanskrit √*labʰ*-), or Molancia "Valencia" (< Caló *molar* "be worth", Spanish "valer", < Sanskrit *mūlya*), &c. The early social situation was also surprisingly similar to that in sixteenth century Britain; according to Bercovici (1929:170-172),

> "Gypsies came to Spain at the beginning of the 15th century. Official documents prove that they were already in Castile in 1490...they joined the wandering *calabrezos* living in Spain, who may or may not have been calabrezos, but were kettle-makers, iron-workers and nomads. These various groups of calabrezos and Gypsies intermingled so that the Gypsies lost their identity, and were also called 'calabrezos' by the people, and referred to as such in various documents. The edicts and laws of the time speak of them as 'calabrezos and caldareros...people who pretend they are Egyptians and speak all languages".

Intermarriage with the Moors further increased the non-Gypsy element in the Gitano population: "it is this Moorish blood in the Gitanos which makes them look so different from the other Gypsies, and which has in so many respects so changed the character of the people" (*loc. cit.*).

In Scandinavia the similarities are even greater, and indeed may share their early historical and linguistic development with the English situation. While Gypsies may have entered Britain from southern Scandinavia in the first place as the Jutes had done a thousand years before, the first record of their presence in Denmark indicates that they had been transported thence by James IV of Scotland, in July, 1505. Their arrival in Sweden via Denmark is dated 1512, and they were being abandoned on the Norwegian coast from 1544 onwards, in an attempt to rid Britain of their presence. According to Bergman (1964:13)

> "...the Scottish and the Swedish Gypsies kept in touch during the 16th century...in the Swedish national archives there are two passports for the Tattare, or as he is also called the Egyptian, Anders Faa...The name Faa is well known in Scotland, and has been so [among Gypsies] for a long time. John Faa was the name of perhaps the most romantic Gypsy leader in Scotland, and he even had a poem written in his honor by our Swedish poet Orvar Odd".

And on page 16:

> "Nowadays, a distinction is made between *Tattare* and *Zigenare*. The last term is used to refer to descendants of the Gypsies who immigrated in the latter part of the 19th century, mainly between 1860 and 1880, and later. They are bilingual, and speak both a pure European Gypsy dialect, and Swedish...The term Tattare is reserved for a less well-defined group of people who live in the same way as the Gypsies, and who no doubt in certain cases are descendants of Gypsies who have mixed with Swedes, but who otherwise and probably mainly are descendants of the loose people from whom came the significant group of loiterers".

And lastly on page 22:

> "Just as the Spanish Gypsies, after having settled down mixed their language with the Spanish of the lower classes, with the *germania* of the criminals, &c., so the Swedish Gypsies have also mixed their language with Swedish. Today's Tattare speak a mixture [rotvälska] in which, to be sure, the basis is old Romanés, but where the inflectional system of the Gypsy language has been lost...".

The speech of the *Zigenare* as defined here has been superbly described by Gjerdman & Ljungberg (1963), and differs little from the inflected Vlax dialects widely spoken throughout Europe and the Americas. The language of the *Tattare* on the other hand is strikingly similar to Angloromani. Examples from Johansson show incoined forms (discussed below for Angloromani) such as *krajjo-dikklo* "flag", *lit.* "king-cloth", or *starrto-mossj* "policeman", *lit.* "capture-man". The following sentences will give an idea of the nature of the reduced dialect:

Tattare:	*mannder honkar alonum*
English:	I am alone
Swedish:	jag är ensam
Angloromani:	mandi*'s* *a*kɔnyə; mandi*'s* *alo*nəs
Romanés:	me šom korkoro
Tattare:	*vi tradrar to fåron en vaver divus*
English:	we('ll) go to town another day
Swedish:	vi åker till stan en annan dag
Angloromani:	*we'll* jɛl *to the* fɔrəs *a* wʌvə dɪvəs
Romanés:	džasa k'o foros vaver divəs
Tattare:	*ska vi puttja dålle mossj om han vill suta palla i ratti?*
English:	shall we ask that fellow if he'll stay and sleep tonight?
Swedish:	ska vi fråga den där karlen om han vill ligga kvar i natt?
Angloromani:	*wɪll we* puch *the* mush *if he'll* ach *and* sɔv *to*ra:ti?
Romanés:	p^{h}učas i muršeste te ačel te sovel akarat?[15]

The Norwegian variety of Tattare-Romani has been described by Iversen (1944).

Description of Angloromani

Angloromani is spoken in various forms along a continuum, which is lexical rather than grammatical. While speakers have the notion of "deep", *i.e.* basilectal, speech, this refers more to the use of esoteric vocabulary than to a knowledge of non-English grammar. In some families, however, where the inflected variety remained in use longer, certain frozen (non-analyzable) inflections may still be encountered. This is generally true for the language in songs, oaths, &c., for all speakers of Romani ancestry. Non-Gypsy speakers of Angloromani are not as a rule familiar with deeper forms of the language, or many of the folkloristic aspects of Romničal culture.

A typical speaker of deep Angloromani might, for example, use /yʌv/ instead of "he", /lɪs/ instead of "it" in object position, /mɔrə/ instead of "our" and so on, in the pronominal system, items which have generally been replaced by their English equivalents.

Discussions of British Romanés by Ackerley, Winstedt and others in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* have predictably concerned themselves with describing the speech of those individuals having some knowledge of the inflected language; and while this has also been called "Anglo-Romani", that designation here does not refer to inflected Romanés, hence the choice of the present spelling of the word. In the USA, where Angloromani speakers come into contact, but don't as a rule socialize with, speakers of inflected dialects of the language, they are scarcely recognised as being even lexically related, and are sometimes referred to as "Rooshian", or "Roos", by American Romničals[16].

Since there is no regularized orthography in widespread use for Angloromani, English spelling conventions normally being used, and since it is necessary to distinguish between English- and Romanés-derived morphemes, the former are written here in italic script, and the latter in IPA symbols.

Phonological approximation to English

Angloromani phonology is English phonology; the only non-English phoneme to remain for some speakers is the uvular fricative [χ], and even this is common in Scots dialects of English. Generally, however, historic [χ] (/x/) corresponds to [h] or [k] in Angloromani:

hɔbən, hʌkəno (< Romanés xaben, xoxano) "food"; "deceitful"

The two /r/ phonemes of Romanes, the flap [ɾ] and the voiced uvular fricative [ʁ] had probably coalesced into a single flap phoneme in the northern Continental dialects before the language was taken into Britain; they are not distinguished in German Sinte, for example. In Angloromani this has become a roll [ɹ] (/r/) or, more rarely, an alveolar stop [d]:

bɔrə, churi∿chudi (< Romanés bå̊ro, čuri) "big"; "knife"

In Angloromani, the phonetic distinction between aspirated and non-aspirated stop consonants has been lost, or else has become a voiced/voiceless contrast:

Romanés	Angloromani	English
kʰer	kɛə	"house"
√ker-	kɛə	"make, do"
tʰud	tud	"milk"
tud	dud	"brightness"

Grammatical features

Nouns

Most nouns follow the regular English system of pluralization, and have lost the distinction of gender and case found in inflected Romanés:

Romanés	Angloromani	English
džukəl	*a* juk	"a dog"
dui džukle	dui juk*s*	"two dogs"
i džuklesa	*wi' the* juk	"with the dog"

For a number of items, an historic plural -(y)ə may occur, often in combination with English {-*s*} ([s]∿[z]∿[ɪz]):

yak^{h}	*a* yɔk	"an eye"
dui yak^{h}a	dui yɔkə*s*	"two eyes"

This is the early native plural -a, which in the inflected language occurs most commonly with consonant-final masculine and with i-final feminine nouns: sap, sapa "snake(s)", rakli, raklia "girl(s)". This termination in Angloromani shows the typical retracting in that language of historic /a/ to /ɔ/, unstressed /ə/. It may apply to nouns historically belonging to another plural class:

čavo	chavə	"boy"
čave	chavɔ:*s*	"boys"
moila	mailə	"donkey"
moili	mailɔ:*s*	"donkeys"

The Rumanian irregular plural -*urĭ*, common in the Vlax dialects, occurs with a few non-native items, *e.g. rush*əri "rushes, reeds", *carrot*əri "carrots".

The possessive construction usually takes *'s* (*s'*), though in some of the northern counties of England a zero genitive may be found, *e.g.* in the speech of

some of the Bosses, Hearnes and Youngs:

dulə'ʂ mandi'ʂ	"Those are mine"
Petey dad kɛə'ʂ dustə bɔrə	"Petey's father's house is very big"

Unmarked possessives are restricted geographically, and are not typical of the language.

There remains in common use a productive nominalizing morpheme -bən, of Indic origin, which may join with verbs, adjectives, &c., to produce nouns:

jin	"know"
jinəbən	"knowledge"
kɔ:ni	"blind"
kɔ:nibən	"blindness"

A less common nominalizing suffix is -məs (< Greek -μός):

hɔinə	"angry"
hɔinəməs	"anger"
kɛə	"make, do"
kɛrəməs	"doings, action"

In the inflected language, the genitival endings for masculine and feminine nouns before both singular and plural objects, are as follows:

romeskəro	"man's" (m.)	romniakəro	"woman's" (m.)
romeskəri	"man's" (f.)	romniakəri	"woman's" (f.)
romeŋəro	"men's" (m.)	romniaŋərǫ	"women's" (m.)
romeŋəri	"men's" (f.)	romniaŋəri	"women's" (f.)
romeskəre	"man's" (m. & f. pl.)	romniakəre	"woman's" (m. & f. pl.)
romeŋəre	"men's" (m. & f. pl.)	romniaŋəre	"women's" (m. & f. pl.)

In Angloromani, derivatives of these constitute another set of productive suffixes, though they may be applied to items which historically are of either gender or number, and in addition they have no possessive function. In Angloromani

they have the forms -(m)ɛngrə, -(m)ɛngri, -(m)ɛskrə, -(m)ɛskri, -(m)ɛngr*ies* and -(m)ɛskr*ies*:

siv	"sew"	puv	"earth"
sivɛngrə	"tailor"	puvɛngr*ies*	"potatoes"
dud	"light"	pus	"straw"
dudimɛskr*ies*	"matches"	pusɛngrə	"haystack"

Sometimes these different endings serve to distinguish different items sharing the same root morphemes:

dɛləmɛngrə	"preacher"			
dɛləmɛskrə	"hammer"	<	dɛl	"give"
hɔbənɛngrə	"chef, cook"			
hɔbənɛskrə	"table"	<	hɔbən	"food" < hɔ "eat"
lɪvənɛngrə	"brewer"			
lɪvənɛskrə	"hops"	<	lɪvənə	"beer"
piəmɛngrə	"alcoholic"			
piəmɛskri	"tea"	<	pi	"drink"

Occasionally there are even triplets formed in this fashion:

kurəmɛskrə	"boxing glove"			
kurəmɛngrə	"boxer, fighter"	<	kuə	"hit, strike"
kurəmɛngri	"tambourine"			

Shift of class is evident for a large number of items employing English-derived morphemes also: brishən*in'* "raining" (< brishən "rain"), smɛnt*y* tud "creamy milk" (< smɛntənə "cream", + tud, "milk").

Pronouns

All distinctions of gender and case have been lost in Angloromani. This may be illustrated with the first person singular:

Romanés	Angloromani	English
1 me	mandi	I
2 man	mandi	me
3 maya	mandi	me (emphatic)
4 mandi	mandi	me (prepositional)
5 maŋi	*to, for* mandi	to, for me (dative)
6 mansa	*wi'* mandi	with me (instrumental)
7 mande	*from* mandi	from me (ablative)
8 miro	mandi*'s*	my (masculine singular)
9 miri	mandi*'s*	my (feminine singular)
10 mira	mandi*'s*	my (feminine oblique)
11 mire	mandi*s'*	my (plural & masculine oblique)

Romanés has both prepositions and postpositions. The former (*e.g.* əpre "up", təle "down", pɔ:dəl "across", &c.), have been retained in Angloromani, while the latter have been replaced by English prepositions, with the possible exception of sa "with", which may, according to Smart & Crofton (1875:133) and Borrow (1874: 58) function prenominally. This has not been heard by the present writer.

As well as postpositions, Angloromani has also lost the reflexive possessive third person singular and plural pronouns which in Romanés are pesk- "his/her own" and peŋ- "their own", as opposed to lesk- "his", lak- "her", leŋ- "their".

The pronouns which remain in most common use are mandi, first person singular, and tuti, second person singular, and for some speakers also the second person plural. Other pronouns may be heard less frequently, and include mirə, miri, mi or mʌ "my", yʌv or lɛsti "he", yɔi or yuwi "she", lɪs "it", mɛndi "us", "we", mɔrə "our" and lɛdi or lɛndi "they", "their". These derive mostly from inflected oblique (*i.e.* non-subject) forms of the pronouns in the historical source. Possession is indicated for the invariable forms with {-*s*}:

tuti*'s* ruzlibən *an'* mandi*'s* gʌzələs "your strength and my brains"

Verbs

Romanés verbs belong to four classes, and are inflected for person, tense and number. In Angloromani the morphology is English, the native stem often corresponding to the third person singular present indicative in the inflected language (there is no infinitive in Romanés):

Romanés	Angloromani	English
dav	mandi dels	"I give"
del	*he* dels	"he gives"
les	tuti lels	"you take"
lel	*he* lels	"he takes"
džas	*we* jals (jels)	"we go"
džal	*he* jals (jels)	"he goes"

Sometimes the surviving form is the historic imperative:

čin!	mandi chins	"I cut"
mâŋ!	mandi mongs	"I beg"
praster!	mandi prastəs	"I run"

The present indicative takes {-*s*} throughout:

tuti rɔkəs	"you talk"
he jins	"he knows"
mandi kɐ:ms	"I like"
we diks	"we see"

The preterite is formed with {-*ed*}:

lɛdi mɔnged	"they begged"
they lʌstəd	"they took an oath"
she garɪv'd *it*	"she hid it"

Many past participle verbal forms survive in Angloromani, but are not consciously related to their present tense form, functioning only as adjectives:

prasto "buried" (< prav "bury")
pɔgədi "broken" (< pɔgə "break")
pɪgəlo "intoxicated" (< pi "drink")

The *BE* verb is usually English, although for many speakers the singular Romanés forms remain in use: shɔm "(I) am", shan "(you) are", si "(he) is". The third person si often serves for all persons, however. A basilectal speaker might say shɔm *a* shərɛngrə "I'm a boss", or perhaps mandi si *a* shərɛngrə, although in the inflected language, this would mean "I *have* a boss", and would be interpreted in this way by some speakers. Most commonly, the English verb is used: mandi'*s a* shərɛngrə.

Use of the *BE* verb to express obligation is still heard from some people, but seems to be losing ground in favor of *must* or *got to*: shɔm tə jɛl sɪg "I must go soon", *lit.* "I am to go soon".

For the past tense, the regularized third person singular has been taken from the inflected language:

Romanés	Angloromani	English
(me) šomas	mandi sas	"I was"
(tu) šanas	tuti sas	"you were"
(yov) sas	*he* (yʌv) sas	"he was"
(ame) šamas	*we* (mɛndi) sas	"we were"
(tume) šenas	*you* (tuti) sas	"you were"
(yon) sas	*they* (lɛdi) sas	"they were"

Other verbal constructions follow the English model:

mandi'*s* shun*ed 'em*	"I've heard them"
did tuti dɪk *it*?	"did you see it?"
lɛdi'*ll get* mɔ:*d*	"they'll get killed"
Luther had been chɪv'*d*	"Luther had been cheated"
tuti *was* chɪnin'	"you were cutting"
&c.	

BE is deleted quite commonly:

əkai tuti*'s* patərən*s* "here (are) your pages"

Sinclair (1915:737)[17] gives examples of this from American Angloromani:

tūte kūšta dik*en* muš "you (are a) fine looking man"

tūte rinkna râne "you (are a) pretty lady"

Sinclair also lists hi as a variant pronunciation of si "is", which is characteristic of the northern dialects of Romanés from which Angloromani is derived. This no longer seems to occur in Angloromani in Britain, nor has it been encountered by the present writer in the language in the United States.

Negation

The commonest negating morpheme is kɛk, with the variants kɛkə, kak, kakə. There is in addition a negative imperative mɔ:, thus

mandi *can* kɛk kɛ: lɪs "I can't do it"

tuti kɛk*'ll be able to* dɪk *the* mush *from* əkɔi

"you won't be able to see the man from here"

mɔ: rɔkə, *you* dɪv, *the* gɔ:jə*'s* shun*in'*

"don't talk, you fool, the non-Gypsy is listening"

there's kakə pani *left* dre kʌvə kuri

"there's no water left in this bucket"

Adjectives

These conform to the English pattern, comparatives and superlatives taking *-er* and *-est* if the adjective is of one or two syllables, and *more* and *most* if longer:

yɔky	"intelligent"	wafədi	"bad"
yɔkier	"more intelligent"	more wafədi	"worse"
yɔkiest	"most intelligent"	most wafədi	"worst"

Adverbs derived from adjectives retain the adjectival form. Some items contain the frozen native adverbial ending -ɪs but this is no longer productive in Anglo-romani:

she gɪllies right shukə	"she sings very sweetly"
stɔ:l actin' lubnɪs	"stop acting wantonly" (lubni "whore", "whorish")
he rɪdəs rʌmnɪs	"He dresses Gypsily" (rʌmni "Romani", rʌm "man")

The English -ly is found in the common word sigly "quickly".

Than is expressed by [ən] (< than), or more rarely by [nə] (< nor):

kʌvə's much more shɪlənə nor Luther's tan

"this is much colder than Luther's place"

Reduplication is employed for emphasis, as indicated a century ago by Smart & Crofton (p. 48), thus:

sig	"soon", "quick"
sig-sig	"very quick"
bɔrə	"big"
bɔrə-bɔrə	"huge"
duvri	"distant"
duvri-duvri	"very distant"

Demonstratives

These are kʌvə "this" and "these", and duvə "that" and "those". Some speakers retain a form dulə for "those". The demonstratives are frequently used in combination with the adverbs əkai/əkɔi "here" and ədɔi "there": kʌvəkai "this here",

duvədɔi "that there":

kʌvəkai's lɛsti's "these are his"

Miscellaneous grammatical items

As stated above, a chief factor suggesting a base for Angloromani in Romanés rather than in English, is the high rate of retention of grammatical and other items from the former language, such items not usually being adopted on so wide a scale in language-contact situations:

sa:	"how"
sɔski	"why"
kai	"where"
kɔnə	"when"
vɔnkə	"before" (< French)
sɔ:	"which, what"; "all"
kɔn, kʌn	"who"
əz	relative "that", "whom"
bət	"but"
ɔ:	"or"
tə, *æn'*	"and"
ʌknə	"now"
&c.	

Lexicon

It is in its internally-generated vocabulary that Angloromani is most like the creoles[18]. Speakers have shown remarkable inventiveness in keeping the lexicon as free from English (or recognisable English) as possible, the reason being that since the structure already derives from that language, use of English vocabulary too would result in a language which would be English itself. Thus, even where items in the source language did not exist, *e.g.* "airplane", "television", &c., equivalents for these have been produced from the existing morpheme stock to expand the lexicon. This is also true for items which, although occurring in the source

language , have subsequently become lost in Angloromani, *e.g.* the words for "gun", "wheel", "sand", "peace", &c.

Incoining

Incoining is the process whereby new lexemes are created from morphemes already available in the language, the combination or interpretation of which has no exterior model (in this case, in either English or Romanés). Incoining differs from coining, which is the creation of new items with no historical source, for example *Kodak* or *blurb* in English. Incoinings current in Angloromani include:

bɔngo-sɪv	"hɔok" (*lit.* "crooked needle")
dandɪmɛngri	"pepper; mustard" (*lit.* "bite" + -mɛngri)
dɪk*in'* mʊktə	"television" (*lit.* "looking box")
dʊə-dɪkəmɛngrə	"telescope" (*lit.* "far" + "see" + -mɛngrə)
kɔsh-lɔli-pɔp	"toffee-apple" (*lit.* "stick" + "red" + "apple")
lɔlə-cham	"copper" (*lit.* "red tin")
lɔn-chɪk	"sand" (*lit.* "salt dirt")
nash*in'* chɪnəmɛngri	"telegram" (*lit.* "running writing")
nash*in'* pa:nɪ	"waterfall" (*lit.* "running water")
nɛvɪ-dudʒ	"electric lights" (*lit.* "new lights")
pa:ni-va:də	"boat" (*lit.* "water waggon")
prastər*in'* sastə	"bicycle" (*lit.* "running iron")
rɔkəshunɛngri	"telephone" (*lit.* "speak" + "hear" + -ɛngri)
rukɛngri-chɔkəs	"leaves" (*lit.* "trees' clothes")
rʌmni-rɔkər*in'* chɛrɪklə	"parrot" (*lit.* Romanés-talking bird")
sasti-chɛrɪklə	"airplane" (*lit.* "iron bird")
sasti-grɔɪ	"locomotive" (*lit.* "iron horse")
sʊklə-pɔbə	"orange" (*lit.* "sour apple")

The same semantic generalization evident in some of these examples is also found in dialects of inflected Romanés in the United States, *cf.* Angloromani pɔbə (also pɔp, pɔbi) "apple", used in the sense of "fruit", or va:də "waggon", used here to mean "vehicle" generally. In American Vlaχ mečka, originally "she-bear", may be applied to any large animal, such as a lion, gorilla, and so on (discussed with further examples in Hancock, 1976a). It is also apparent that some of these

may be of some antiquity in the language, since they retain inflections with their Romanés rather than Angloromani function (rukɛngri-chɔkəs, for example).

Sound-alikes

These are puns, though used without humorous intent, on the primary English interpretation of the Angloromani item (given first):

drʌm	1. "way, road"	2. "way, manner"
dui	1. "two"	2. "to" (see Ackerley, 1929:119)
grazni	1. "mare"	2. "mayor"
grʌnzə	1. "barn"	2. "baron, lord"
hɛv	1. "hole"	2. hɛvy "holy, sacred"
kɔtə	1. "piece, portion"	2. "peace, quiet"
nai	1. "(finger)-nail"	2. "nail (for hammering)"
shɪl	1. "cold, chilly"	2. "cold, catarrh"
stɔ:	1. "four"	2. "for" (see Ackerley, 1929:119)
tulo	1. "fat, obese"	2. "fat, grease"
ufə	1. "cap, hat"	2. "*cap*tain, chief"

There are, in addition to these, a great many proper nouns formed in the same way; thus, the Continental Rom in the United States are sometimes referred to as nɔngə-*folki*, that is, "Bear People", from their earlier practice of exhibiting performing bears, but where nɔngə in fact means "bare, naked". Similarly, various Romničal families have Angloromani names punned on their English surnames: the Stanleys are known as the Barɛngries, for instance, the syllable Stan- being similar to the English word "stone", which in Angloromani is ba:. Among town-names formed in the same way, may be mentioned bukə-pa:ni-gav "Liverpool" (*lit.* "liver water (or *pool*) town") in Britain, and lɔn-pa:ni-gav "Seattle", where the first syllable is taken to be "sea" (lɔn-pa:ni "salt water", in Angloromani), in the United States. Other non-punned American town-names have been listed by Gatchet (1897), and include purənə-gav "Boston" (*lit.* "old town"), machənɛskə-gav "Gloucester, Mass.", (*lit.* "fishy town") and sɪgmɛngə "Chicago" (*lit.* "fast" + -mɛngə). Fowkes (1977) discusses the same town-naming processes in inflected Welsh Romanés.

Calques

Calquing, by its nature, requires knowledge of two languages, since they are usually translations of idioms rather than direct lexical correspondences. Examples in Angloromani include:

gʌnəd	"sacked, fired from one's job" (gʌnə "sack, bag")
tatərʊn	"a heavy blow; a 'hot one'" (tato "hot")
ba:s	"testicles" (ba: "stone", *cf.* dialectal English *stones*)

Semantic extension

Examples of semantic extension have been mentioned above, where the word for "apple" is used for "fruit", the word for "waggon" is used for "vehicle", and so on. Other examples include:

gɪli	1. "song"	2. "newspaper; Bible"
hɛrə	1. "leg"	2. "wheel"
kʌnyə	1. "alone"	2. "peaceful, tranquil"

Disguised English items

The commonest enclitic applied to English items is -əs (< Greek -oς):

*about*əs	"about"
*alʌng*əs	"along"
*blu*əsə (?)	"blue"
*bull*əs	"bull"
*by-ʌnd-by*əs	"by-and-by"
*fog*əs	"tobacco smoke" (< "fog"; also Cant)

Miklosich (1880, Vol. X:6) discusses this in Angloromani, and gives examples of the same suffix in other dialects, *e.g.* Hungarian Lovari barátos "friend" (< Hungarian barato + -oς), Scandinavian bankus "bank" (< Norwegian/Swedish bank + -oς), Czech Romanés hrmišagos "weather" (< Czech hřměti + Hungarian -ság- + -oς). See also Barannikov (1931:120-121).

Among other disguised English items are found

*dear*i	"dear"
*folk*i	"folk"
greeno	"green"
*nut*i	"nut"
*rid*gəl	"partridge"

Items from English provincial dialects

bɔ:	"bor", *i.e.* "pal, friend"
swɔnki	"swankie", *i.e.* "beer"
tɪpəti	"antipathy, ill-feeling"
ya:bs	"herbs"
&c.	

With the exception of swɔnki, the above items occur in Gullah in the same forms.

Items from Slang and Cant

chat	"thing"
drɪz	"lace"
feyk	"make, mend"
fɔ:ni⌒faini	"(finger)-ring"
gatə	"beer; a drink"
gleyz	"window; glass" (dukər*in'* gleyz "crystal ball")
jɪgə	"door"
keydi	"hat"
mɔ:t	"woman"
shant	"pint", "glass", "a drink"
skɪp	"basket"
stɔ:l	"wait", "stop"
tobə	"road"
tɔgs	"clothing"
twailəs	"trousers"

Mixed morphemes

English-derived morphemes may combine with those from Romanés in ways other than those already described:

*a*jɔ:	"ago" (jɔ: "go")
*a*trash*ed*	"afraid" (trash "fear")

*tok*ɛtəni	"together" (kɛtəni "together")
*tor*a:ti	"tonight" (ra:ti "night")

Collapsed items

A few items with the same surface form have different forms in the source language, and maintain the two meanings in Angloromani:

bɔk	1. "luck" (< baχt)	2. "hunger" (< bok^{h})
bɛsh	1. "sit" (< √beš-)	2. "year" (< berš)
kɔ:ri	1. "penis" (< kar)	2. "thorn" (< kanro)
pa:nə	1. "white" (< parno)	2. "cloth" (< berand)
shukə	1. "nice; secret" (< šukar)	2. "dry" (< šuko)
shun	1. "hear" (< √šun-)	2. "moon, month" (< šon)
trash	1. "fear" (< traš)	2. "thirst" (< truš)

The reverse is evident in the two words rat "blood" and ra:ti or ra:di "night", which have evolved separate phonetic shapes but stem from identical-sounding items in Romanés (rat "blood"; "night").

Semantic specialization

Semantic specialization has taken place between sɔv and suti, derived from the present and preterite forms of the verb "sleep" respectively, in the inflected language. In Angloromani, the former is retained in its original sense, while the latter has come to mean "copulate". A similar split has taken place in Lomavren (Armenian Romanés, which has undergone restructuring in the same way as Angloromani), where sutav is the root morpheme meaning "sleep", and the form səvel deriving from the historic indicative, means "be in prenatal confinement", or "give birth". Other restructured or partially restructured dialects of Romanés seem to have had to select one or the other of these forms; thus, the only surviving words for "sleep" in Domari (Nawari Romanés, spoken in the Middle East) and in Swedish Tattare Romanés are sučar and sutta respectively, from the original

preterite root *√sut-. The tattare dialect probably dropped sova because of the Swedish verb sova which also means "sleep". In Spanish Caló, on the other hand, the verb is sobar, and it is the sut- form which has been lost. In inflected Welsh Romanés, the regularized preterite form sovdom exists alongside sutiom.

Semantic confusion

There is at least one instance of semantic reversal, where Angloromani loko "heavy", derives from the inflected sourceform meaning "light". Misapplication is evident in Angloromani kunyəs "knees", where kunia in inflected Romanés means "elbows". The word chɔng, meaning "knee" in inflected Romanés (čåŋ), is more commonly used to mean "hill" in Angloromani.

Texts[19]

1. From the British & Foreign Bible Society's translation of *St. Luke XV* (1973):

"*But* sor dulla cherus, *the* puro chavvi sas avri, adre *the* puv. Kana lesti jell*ed* posho *the* ker, *he* shoon*ed* gilly*ing and* kell*ing*. *So he* rocker*ed to* yek *of the* butiengrie*s*, ta putch*ed* lesti: *"What's going on?"*, ta *the* gero pukker*ed* lesti, "Tiro pral*'s* akai, *so your* dadrus *has* mor*ed a* tulli tickni gruvni *because he's* avv*ed back* kushti ta sasteem".

("But all that time, the old son was out in the field. When he got near the house, he heard singing and dancing. So he spoke to one of the servants, and asked him "What's going on?", and the man told him "You brother's here, so your father has killed a fat little cow because he has come back well and healthy").

2. From the catalogue of *Romanestan Publications*, London, England, which produces and distributes materials in Angloromani:

"*The Travelling Folki's* bokalo *for* ledee*'s* kokero lil*s* adre *the* Romani jib. *We want to* dick but lil*s* adre *the* pogardi jib *and* adre *the* puri jib...adre *our* chairus *we can* ker *more* cushti *by* chinn*ing* lil*s than by* kor*ing* gavver*s*. *We want to* del *the Travelling Folki the* lil*s that will* ker *them* ruzlo adre *our* tem. Kana sig".

("The Traveling Folk are eager [*lit.* "hungry"] for their own books in the Romanés language. We want to see many books in the Broken language and in the Old language...these days [*lit.* "in our time"] we can do more good by writing books than by antagonizing policemen. We want to give the Traveling Folk the books that will make them strong in our country. Right away").

3. From a personal letter received from an Angloromani speaker:

"Mandi sikker*ed it to the* godgo. *He* penn*ed that* miro tickno lil sas kushti, *but I'd* kerr*ed some* bongo wafedi lav*s in it. Then with his* kokoro vast *he* chinn*ed* mandi *a translation* adre Romanes *of an* angitrakeri gilli, *but* mandi*'s* atrash*ed as it's* kek but kushti".

("I showed it to the non-Gypsy. He said that my small book was fine, but that I'd made some mistakes [*lit.* "wrong bad words"] in it. Then with his own hand, he wrote me a translation in Romanés of an English song, but I'm afraid that it's not very good").

4. Sample of Angloromani from Smart & Crofton (1875), showing the state of the language a century ago:

"...*some* waver Romani *folk*i sas adoi *as* mendi *didn't* jin. Yon atch'*d* talé *a* bitto drom sor *by* lendi kokeros. *They were more copper like* adré lendi mooïaw *dan* mendi...Kavakei *folk*i *were* waver temengri Romanies, *don't you* jinéss, *and* Wester...kom'*d to* rocker *wi'* lendi, *but bless you*, rei, *he couldn't* jin posh *o'* sor lendi rockeropen".

("...some other Romani people were there, that we didn't know. They stopped down a little road all by themselves. They were more copper-like in their faces than us...those people were foreign [*lit.* "other country"] Gypsies, don't you know...and Sylvester...wanted to speak with them, but bless you, sir, he couldn't understand half of all their talk").

5. Sample of Angloromani taken from a Canadian-born Romničal in Toronto, during Summer, 1968:

"Tuti kers mandi te pench oprey o puro chiros vonka mandi shomas *a* tarno chavi *a-jivin' along of the* rig *of the* sastero vardo'*s* drom. Amendi sas kekno but lovey andrey adovo divuses. Miro dad sas naflo but *of the* chiros, ta mandi ta mandi'*s* prals *and* pens sas te jal *along of the* rig *of the* sastero vardo'*s* drom te lel o wongar fon *the* rig *of the* drom *an'* chiv lis andrey *the* gono *to* rigger lis kerey *to* chiv andrey amendi'*s* yag te tatter amaro ker".

("You make me remember [*lit.* "to think on"] the old time(s) when I was a young boy, living alongside the railway tracks [*lit.* "iron waggon's road"]. We didn't have much money in those days. My father was sick much of the time, and I and my brothers and sisters had to go along the side of the tracks to get the coal from the side of the way, and put it in the sack to carry it home to put on our fire to warm our house").

6. Sample of American Angloromani, transcribed from a tape-recording made at Galveston, Texas, in August, 1975:

[wəɪ 'kækə vɛʊwz drəɪ 'tɛgzɪs wɪ ðə 'vɛgrəs jə dʒɪn læk wɪ juws tə kɛə 'buwdi bəɹʃ ə'glɔ: # 'ʌknə dɛ:‿z dʌstə 'buwdi gʌdæm pɹ:mənən grɪfs drəɪ ðə gævəz n eɪ kækə putʃ əs sə mɜtʃ nə mowɹ]

("We don't come into Texas with the carnivals, you know, like we used to do many years ago. Now there are too many [*lit.* "enough many"] goddam permanent griffs [*i.e.* "shows"] in the towns, and they don't ask us so much no more").

Notes

[1]An expanded version of a paper first presented at the Conference on New Directions in Creole Studies, held in Guyana, South America, in August, 1976. In preparing the present draft I was helped in particular by my friends Donald Kenrick, Thomas Acton, Ronald Lee, Morey Pinfold, Lanie Pinfold, Moses Harn, and a number of other friends and relatives who did not wish their names to be included here. Thanks go to these, and to Magnus Ljung, who provided translations of the Swedish sources.

[2]Gypsies were being transported by the English out of Britain from 1512 onwards; first to Scandinavia and France, then as slave labor to the overseas colonies: to Barbados and Jamaica by 1665 (MacRitchie, *passim*) and to Virginia by 1695 (*The Virginia Magazine*, MacRitchie, and Hancock, 1976b). MacRitchie (1894:102) notes that "In 1661, 'Commission and Instructions' were issued anew to justices and constables, by Act of Parliament, with the view of arresting Gypsies...a great many Gypsies must have been deported to the British 'plantations' in Virginia, Jamaica and Barbadoes during the second half of the seventeenth century. That they had there to undergo a temporary, if not 'perpetual' servitude, seems very likely; for certain merchants and planters who applied to the Privy Council in 1714 for permission to take them, did so with the avowed intention of using them as laborers. To what extent the people of those places today are possessed of seventeenth century Gypsy blood is an interesting, though perhaps a delicate question". Whatever Gypsy element may exist in Barbados and elsewhere, no Romanés words seem to occur in the modern Caribbean dialects, though Collymore (1970:58), in his Barbadian glossary lists gypsy as meaning "meddlesome, officious", while Cassidy & Le Page (1967:217) more significantly give Gypsy as meaning "secret language" in Jamaica. The extent of Romani influence on Caribbean music and folklore has so far not been considered.

The first reference to Gypsies in Virginia is from Henrico County in 1695, where records state that a charge of rape made by a Gypsy woman was dismissed by the magistrate, "It being the opinion of this Court that ye Act ag'st ffornication does not touch her, she being an Egyptian & noe Xtian woman" (*The Virginia Magazine*, 1894, Vol. II:100). The family name of the woman, Joane Scot, is still found among American Angloromani speakers today.

Burnett (1889:349), writing on the Melungeons of Tennessee, notes that "...they may have entered the country as Portuguese or gypsies and afterward some families may have intermingled with the negroes or Indians or with both". Gypsies were being transported to the Americas by the Dutch, Germans, Spanish and French as well, though these would not of course have spoken Angloromani. Alexander Jones (1834:189), writing of Gypsies sent from France, says that "There is a colony of *'Gypsies'* on *Biloxi Bay* in Louisiana [now Mississippi] who were brought over and colonized by the French at a very early period of the first settlement of the state. They are French *'Gypsies'* and speak the French language, they call themselves *'Egyptians'* or *'Gypsies'*". Olmsted (1861:638) provides a further interesting account of Gypsies in Louisiana in the form of a conversation with

a local planter:

> "I afterwards spent the night at the house of a white planter, who told me that, when he was a boy, he had lived at Alexandria. It was then under the Spanish rule; and, 'the people they was all sorts. They was French and Spanish, and Egyptian and Indian, and Mulattoes and Niggers'.
> 'Egyptians?'
> 'Yes, there was some of the real old Egyptians there then'.
> 'Where did they come from?'
> 'From some of the Northern Islands'.
> 'What language did they speak?'
> 'Well they had a language of their own that some of 'em used among themselves; Egyptian, I supposed it was, but they could talk in French and Spanish too'.
> 'What color were they?"
> 'They was black, but not very black. Oh! they was citizens, as good as any; they passed for white folks'.
> 'Did they keep close by themselves, or did they intermarry with white folks?'
> 'They married mulattoes, mostly, I believe. There was heaps of mulattoes in Alexandria then — free niggers — their fathers was French and Spanish men, and their mothers right black niggers. Good many of them had Egyptian blood in 'em too'.
> ...The Egyptians were probably Spanish Gipsies; though I have never heard of any of them being in America in any other way".

There are a great many Romničals in the USA, especially in the South. Salo (1977, ms. *p.* 7) suggests that they may constitute "the largest among the Gypsy groups" in North America. It is widely believed among southern Romničals that the late Elvis Presley descended from the Nawgin (Scottish Romničal) families of Pressley and Smith, and his former manager Tom Parker is also said to be of Romničal stock.

Ironically, while the earliest Gypsies were brought to America as unwilling emigrants, the U.S. Government banned their immigration in 1885. According to Trigg (1973:224) "in the latter half of the nineteenth century, many more Gypsies, mostly from Slavic countries, were to arrive in the United States. By 1885, however, Gypsies were excluded by immigration policy, and many returned to Europe". During the early 19th century, several thousand others were transported by the English to the penal colony at Botany Bay in south Australia.

[3]In Angloromani, the language is called pogadi-jib "broken language", posh-ta-posh "half and half", or simply ʀᴀmnɪs "Romanés". Inflected British Romanés is usually called puri-jib "old language".

[4]The generally accepted date of arrival of Gypsies in Britain is 1505 for Scotland, and 1512 for England. The earlier year is the date of the first known official reference to their presence, and is found in the accounts of the Scottish Lord

Treasurer. However, MacRitchie (1894:20) cites a source dated *ca.* 1452, which reported that "...a Company of Saracens or Gipsies from Ireland infested the country of Galloway [in Scotland]", and another (1894:27) telling of one Marion of Polwarth who, in 1470, "conveyed a letter by the hands of Johnny Faa, captain of a gang of gipsies, to George Home, the young Baron of Wedderburn, her lover". There are descriptions of people who may well have been Gypsies, but who are not specifically identified, dating back to the early decades of the century before that, and Bercovici (1929:263), perhaps rashly, mentions the original [British] Gypsies "who arrived in the isles in the eleventh or twelfth century".

[5]There have been two main waves of migration westward since arrival in southeastern Europe, in (probably) the early 14th century; the first after the collapse of the Balkan-Muslim trading empire in the 15th and 16th centuries, and the second after abolition of four centuries of slavery in eastern Europe, in 1864. The Gypsies in Britain, and in Spain and Scandinavia, where the same linguistic situation is found, arrived during the time of the first migration.

[6]For purposes of comparison with the inflected British dialect of Romanés which now survives only in Wales, consult Bourgeois (1910), Sampson (1926), Tipler (1957) and Lockwood (1975). For more information on the relationship which existed between the Gypsy and English outlaws and the settled population, see Salgādo (1972), which includes a reprint of Harman (1556), in modernized spelling.

[7]Unless it had been with English speakers in England's territories in France prior to the loss of Calais in 1558. There are several French-derived items in Anglo-romani: avɔnkə "before" (< *avant que*), bɪti "little" (< *petit*), dasʊdɛs "cup" (< *tasse*), pɛnch "think" (? < *pense*), pɔvərə "poor" (< *pauvre*), spɪnkə "pin" (< *espingle*), &c. It is also clear from the nature of Angloromani that its Romanés component derives from the northern dialects, now spoken mainly in Germany and France, which include Welsh Romanés. Comparisons have been made throughout with the latter dialect.

[8]The fact that it is *still* spoken in parts of Britain is clear evidence of this. Lockwood (1976:243) notes that the Welsh Romanés speakers, whose language he describes, "...remembered that their forebears had come from Somerset in the eighteenth century".

[9]R. Hodgson has recently drawn attention to two short verses in Romanés, apparently dated 1517 and some time in the 16th century, and reproduces them, with discussion, in his *JGLS* article.

[10]Taken from Boorde (1547 [1870:218]). The English has been modernized here, while the Romanés remains uncorrected. These sentences have been analyzed by Miklosich (1874:759-765), who rewrites them as follows: *Lači tutty dyves!; Cater myla barforas?; Mayst aves barforas; Mole pis lauena; avauą tosa; hys tele n pee; pee, pee, deuel asse; Achae, da mai manor la veue; Da mai masse!; Achae, aw ordey,*

susse; Da mai paba la ambrell; Iche misto!; Lači rat tut!. In the modern inflected language, these are probably: Lači tuti dives; Kater maila k'o foros?; Mišto aves k'o foros; Mol piyes, levinå?; Avava tusa; Beš tele *and* pi; Pi, pi, Develeste; Av, čai, de ma manro ta (?); De ma mas; Av, čai, *a wordi* tusa; De ma p^{h}abai ta ambrol; Ač mišto; Lači rat tut'.

[11]Pinkerton.

[12]A Welsh word, literally "(unbidden) guests", also written *Westour* in Middle English. In modern Welsh *gwesteion*.

[13]For discussion of an Irish-derived secret language of the roads, Shelta, and its American offshoot, Travelers' Cant, as well as for further references, see Hancock (1974).

[14]The examples Kenrick gives are Jewish English *The* galach ganav*'d the* gelt and Angloromani *The* rashi chor*ed the* wongur "The priest stole the money". Work on Jewish languages and creolization has been started by Paul Wexler at Tel-Aviv University.

[15]Romanés here is northern, not Balkan like modern inflected Swedish Romanés.

[16]This has as much to do with the Slavic and Balkan (*i.e.* non-English) linguistic and cultural features of the "Rooshians" as it has with unfamiliar native lexicon and phonology.

[17]Sinclair seems to have been an innocent object of fun during his visits with his informants; in his glossary he lists the non-Romanés brokla (*i.e.* "broccoli") for "cabbage", and for karri, korri he has "*domestic* cock", when in fact it means "penis". The same sort of thing can be found in other vocabulary lists, *e.g.* that of Otto Duhmberg, collected in Siberia in the 1870's (Miklosich, 1878:280-281) where kari is given as the word for "grandson", chamrimintsch (*i.e.* xa muri minž) for "granddaughter", and bremintsch (*i.e.* bari minž) for "donkey". Another American dialect was recorded by Prince (1907), though this too is not entirely free from error; he lists kovaskaruk for "willow, laurel", for example, when it simply means "this is a tree" (kʌvə*'s a* ruk, with intrusive /k/). This may have been lifted from Smart (1863:7), where the same mistake occurs.

[18]See Hancock (1975) for a discussion of processes of lexical expansion in Sierra Leone Krio.

[19]With the exception of the last, all texts here are given in their original spelling, although English-derived morphemes have been italicized as elsewhere in the paper.

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